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# ABOLITIONISM EXPOSED

## CORRECTED.

4265.139

BY A PHYSICIAN,

Formerly Resident of the South.

WITH

A PLAN

FOR

ABOLISHING THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND ITS  
AUXILIARIES.

BY A TENNESSEAN.

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PHILADELPHIA :

J. SHARP, 225 NORTH SIXTH STREET.  
1838.





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JUL 8 1899

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ABOLISHING THE AMERICAN SLAVERY SOCIETY AND ITS  
AFFILIATES

BY A TANNERMAN

PHILADELPHIA

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1899

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## P R E F A C E.

IT may be considered a work of supererogation to attempt to expose Abolitionism any further than has been done by the able author of "Abolitionism Exposed," a gentleman who had the boldness to come forward, single-handed and alone, as champion against a host of abolitionists, and boldly proclaimed he would prove the "principles of abolitionism injurious to the slaves themselves, dangerous to this nation, and contrary to the express commands of God." But being deprived of the privilege of meeting them in public debate by the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, and "convinced that the best interests of the country and of common humanity itself are involved in the question of abolitionism," he has, with the promptness of the true patriot, published a large pamphlet, developing at considerable length, with his usual profundity and eloquence, the pernicious tendency of these obnoxious principles. The only apology which the writer of this pamphlet offers for retouching the subject is, his having travelled and resided in the south, which have given him opportunities for the personal observation of slavery, which it is presumed the learned author of *Abolitionism Exposed* has not enjoyed.

It would seem, from the silence of the abolitionists since Dr. Sleigh wrote his work, that they are all killed off, or at least stricken dumb. Else why have they not answered it? Does it not look rather suspicious for men, who pretend to be lovers of truth, and are frequently prating about free discussion, to shrink from discussion when an opportunity is offered them? They certainly cannot plead for excuse, that the work of a gentleman who has frequently signalized himself in public debate, and is also celebrated in the literary and scientific world, is not of sufficient importance to merit a reply from them. The only legitimate conclusion is, that they cannot answer it,—that it has completely used them up; and they have not a word to say for themselves. The writer of these pages waited a long time in vain, to see a reply to Dr. S.; but from their

silence, he thought it unnecessary, especially for him, to take up the cudgel against a dispersed and vanquished sect; but recent information has convinced him that abolitionists are like a certain species of animals, which must be killed at least nine times before they will stay killed. For notwithstanding they have been, in different parts of the country, knocked down and dragged out, and burnt out of their own Pennsylvania Hall, it is said that a new and prolific generation of at least ten thousand has sprung up, Phenix like, from their ashes in Philadelphia; and that in all parts of the country, they are even now promulgating their pestiferous doctrines, so that they are becoming powerfully terrific. Therefore, though the author of this pamphlet is no champion, slaveholder, nor member of any abolition society, he deems an apology unnecessary for presuming to compete with the celebrated champion for a few of the spoils of conquest.

July, 1838.

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# ABOLITIONISM EXPOSED CORRECTED.

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## CHAPTER I.

*Difference between Words and Things. Slavery not to be condemned, on account of its abuse, any more than Liberty or Christianity. False Statements of Abolitionists. Their Recklessness of Truth, Proof that their System is erroneous. The Slaves as incapable of taking care of themselves as Lunatics.*

DR. SLEIGH introduces his subject, in Chapter I. with the following trite remarks :

“Mankind has ever been disposed to be carried away with *names and words*,—with the *representation* of things rather than with *things themselves* ; and that portion of mankind thus apt to be deceived by *mere sound*, is generally the most innocent,—the best,—the most unsuspecting,—the most charitable : these very qualities rendering them the easy victims of design and imprudence.”

He might have added, Therefore let all persons examine things themselves, and not be deceived by mere words ; so that they may act from an enlightened judgment, rather than from a blind zeal created by the crafty and designing, and take care that they are not used as mere ‘cat’s-paws’ to subserve the interests of such persons.

“Liberty,” he says, “is a glorious term ; so is christianity : but under the sacred garb of both one and the other, the foulest deeds have been and may be perpetrated ! Under the name of christianity, the holy crusades, in which thousands were slain, were instituted and carried on by Englishmen ; and under the name of Liberty, men, women and children were slaughtered by Frenchmen.”

Could he not have added, And under the name of liberty millions of human beings have been kept in bondage ? “Be not, therefore, carried away by *sounds*, by mere *words*.” The doctor’s advice here is certainly very good, and gives an earnest of the candid manner in which he designs to treat the subject, and that he does not wish any one to be carried away by the mere sound of his words.

And now it is hoped that the reader will pay attention to the words of Dr. Sleight, which, as coming from a champion against Abolitionists, may be very useful in silencing fanatics and amalgamationists. It is hoped that you will read all his statements, and do them justice, as I desire to do.

In speaking of slavery, he asks :

“ Is the abuse of a system a just cause of condemnation ? Do you say it is ; then the system of apprenticeship—of guardianship—of matrimony—liberty and christianity themselves ought to be condemned ; for they all have been abused ; all have had the most cruel, tyrannical, and satanic acts committed under their names ! Therefore according to the argument by which you would have slavery condemned, you would have liberty, christianity and matrimony banished from the earth ! You cannot get out of the dilemma—there is no possible alternative ; if slavery is to be condemned because it has been abused, so are liberty and christianity ! Out of thine own mouth thou art condemned ! ”

After this who shall dare to condemn slavery ! Some have even gone so far as to call it a *Sin* ! but the doctor shows the absurdity of this idea by reference to scripture. According to his reasoning (which all must admit is very logical), slavery is to be ranked among heaven’s choicest blessings, as further proof of which he might have added, that the Israelites, the chosen people of God, had the boon granted to them during many years, and were only deprived of it by the accidental circumstances of numerous plagues, pestilences, and scourgings, which the Egyptians were foolish enough to believe were sent upon themselves for retaining these slaves among them.

*False Statements of Abolitionists. Their Recklessness of Truth, Proof that their System is erroneous.*

“ A total recklessness of truth, is a remarkable feature in the arguments adopted by the advocates of abolitionism ; while they give no credit to the statements of those differing from them ! they unblushingly assert that *all* slaveholders are tyrants and cruel ! Does truth require falsehood to make it conquer ? Ought not these preposterous misstatements to open the eyes of the public to the real character and motive of those men ? The cause of God they cannot be advocating, for his cause requires not the weapons of Satan ! Error invariably stands in need of lies for its support.”



It is true I never before heard that "they unblushingly assert that *all* slaveholders are cruel," yet the doctor says so, and what is the use of his spending time to prove this and the preceding modest little item, "a total recklessness of truth," &c.; but as inferential evidence, although not exactly in order, I shall place here a really candid confession of the doctor, with which the above paragraph may be compared. He says,

"Let not abolitionists at large mistake me. I do not intend to accuse them directly or indirectly of impure motives,—quite the reverse; I do really believe all the abolitionists, with very few exceptions, are the best and most moral and philanthropic men in America; and are actuated by the purest motives of doing good to all, relieving the oppressed and crushing tyranny."

Some persons of a sceptical turn of mind may be disposed to cavil and inquire—Why is it that "the best and most moral men in America, such as are actuated by the purest motives," should have this "total recklessness of truth," and how these men can be so pure and good, if they are using "falsehoods, which are the weapons of Satan,—error invariably stands in need of lies for its support." Such sceptics, however, deserve no other answer than this: You want to know too much, even more than your teacher! If your "eyes" do not yet begin "to open" by these "preposterous misstatements to real motives," you certainly need couching.

*The Slaves as incapable of taking care of themselves as Lunatics.*

Again, the doctor asks,

"Would opening the doors of a lunatic asylum, and letting free the patients thereof, be an act of kindness, or friendship towards them? You reply, Certainly not? Yet this would be granting them immediate liberty—this would be pure abolitionism!

"But you rejoin, The condition of the persons—their mental disabilities disqualify them for liberty till they are cured—till they can take care of themselves—till there is no danger of their doing violence to others; therefore, keeping them confined, till *then*, is in fact an act of kindness towards them; and the opposite course would be most injurious to them! Thank you, kind reader, these are identically the same reasons I give for not advocating the *immediate* emancipation of the slaves. I give you full credit for the wisdom and propriety of your reasons; be so liberal as to grant me

the same indulgence—to give me the same credit for the sincerity of my actions.

“It is probable abolitionists will reply, that the condition of the slaves and of the inmates of a lunatic asylum is very different. I answer, without fear of contradiction, that as far as mental incapability, the vast mass of the slaves are as incapable of taking care of themselves, as the great proportion of lunatics, and this we shall fully demonstrate in a subsequent chapter.”

It is found, however, on close examination, that he has not brought the least proof; on this point it is, therefore, charitable to suppose it has slipped his memory.

The doctor tells us, it is an act of kindness in the slaveholders to hold their slaves till they are instructed and qualified for freedom; but instruction shows them, more plainly, the deprivation of their rights, and makes them of course more unhappy while in slavery, and more likely to rebel or run away. They cannot, therefore, be educated till they are set free, and they cannot be set free till they are educated. Pray, when, according to the doctor’s logic, will they ever be emancipated?

He tells us, in another place, that the negroes have no natural inferiority to the whites; then their being “as incapable of taking care of themselves as lunatics,” is simply owing to their want of intellectual and moral culture. In page 55, of his pamphlet, he makes the following assertion, which if it do not prove the above proposition of his, will at least serve to show the doctor’s consistency.

“Another calumny circulated is respecting the *ignorance* and *irreligion* in which the slaveholders keep their slaves. This is as great a falsehood as was ever uttered by man or devils.”

Which of his assertions would he have us believe,—that the slaves *are* ignorant and irreligious, or that they are *not*? But as many people profess to believe that the slaves are incapable of taking care of themselves, and urge this plea against immediate emancipation, I think proper to bring forward some testimony, not mere assertion or speculation, but actual experiment, to show what foundation there is in fact for this belief. The testimony which I shall adduce is from the planters and former slaveholders in one of the British West India islands, Antigua, where emancipation was immediate, full, and complete. I shall not, at present,



go into the *general* effects of abolition in this island, or the West Indies generally, but confine myself to the point in question, viz. "That the vast mass of slaves are as incapable of taking care of themselves as the great proportion of lunatics." Then what is the evidence of the improvidence of the slaves :

"During slavery, the negroes squandered every cent of money they got, because they were sure of food and clothing. Since their freedom they have begun to cultivate habits of carefulness and economy."—Mr. James Howell.

'The low wages of the labourers [emancipated negroes] is proof of their providence. Did they not observe the strictest economy they could not live on fifty cents per week. That they buy small parcels of land to cultivate, is proof of their economy and foresight. The planters have to resort to every means in their power to induce them not to purchase land. The increasing and large sums of money paid into the friendly societies since emancipation, the increasing attention paid to their provision grounds, is further proof of their foresight.'—Dr. Daniells.

'The fact that the negroes are able to support their aged parents, is further proof,' said Mr. Armstrong.

'The negroes are exceedingly quick to turn a thought. They show a great deal of shrewdness in everything which concerns their own interests; to a stranger it must be utterly incredible how they can manage to live on such small wages. They are very exact in keeping their accounts with the managers. The emancipated people manifest as much cunning and address in business as any class of persons.'—Mr. J. Howel.

'The capabilities of the blacks for education are conspicuous; so also as to mental acquirements and trades.'—Hon. N. Nugent.

'It is a little remarkable, that while Americans fear that the negroes, if emancipated, *could not* take care of themselves, the West Indians fear lest they *should* take care of themselves. Hence they discourage them from buying lands, and from all employments which might render them independent of sugar cultivation.'—Thome & Kimball.

Much more testimony might be brought, of the same character, but if there should be any doubt of the slaves being able to take care of themselves, it will be fully removed when subsequently the *general* effects of emancipation are shown.

## CHAPTER II.

*Abolitionists versus Colonizationists. Expose of W. L. Garrison. "If Abolitionism is to be supported, then the Principles of Washington must be abandoned."* DR. SLEIGH.

It is not intended of course to comment on every paragraph of Dr. Sleigh's pamphlet,—it would take too much room; but every argument or assertion, which is considered of any consequence in the support of his positions, shall be correctly quoted.

In the doctor's second chapter we read as follows :

"As abolitionists are constantly taunting the friends of colonization with the charge that the founders of it were slaveholders (which, by the by, like almost all their other statements, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter,\* is destitute of truth,) they cannot complain of their opponents taking a peep into the principles of some of their chief champions and promoters of abolitionism."

Then commences his expose of William Lloyd Garrison, Esq.

I shall not stop to inquire who were the founders of the Colonization Society, as it is not my purpose to widen the breach between societies whose objects, though a little different, are prompted by good motives. But I beg leave here just to observe, that I think it must be very gratifying to slaveholders to see these societies spending their energies in endeavouring to demolish each other, instead of uniting their strength to destroy the monster slavery. No doubt slaveholders and pro-slavery men try to widen the breach between them as much as possible.

The Doctor tells us in another place, that

"The vast majority of the slaveholders regret the necessity of holding slaves, are anxious to have them emancipated, and would hail with delight any plan by means of which they could emancipate them with safety to themselves and safety to the slaves."

Then why do they not "hail with delight" the Colonization Society, and all become colonizationists? That many slaveholders

\* The Doctor has referred all his proofs to a "subsequent chapter," and notwithstanding the greater part of his pamphlet is made up of extracts, yet he has not found room for this "subsequent chapter." We are therefore, unfortunately, left entirely without proof of all his most important assertions.

are friendly to the Colonization Society, is an undeniable fact; but that the vast majority of them would be willing to have their slaves sent out of the country, I cannot for a moment believe. They want their labour, and cannot cultivate their plantations without it.

I have, indeed, conversed with slaveholders who said they would willingly set their slaves free, if the laws of their state allowed it. These were probably conscience-smitten christians; they had made the calculation, and found the maintenance of the old and infirm of their slaves, paying all their doctors' bills, feeding and clothing and supporting the children and superannuated, to be more expensive than to hire the labour performed by the healthy adults.

I have known other planters, who have had more slaves die from bad treatment, and have lost more in one year by the destruction of their cotton set on fire by the slaves in revenge for abuses, than would have paid for the labour performed by them for many years. Besides, it cannot be doubted that many of them feel unsafe, and the practice of carrying deadly weapons, which are so often used on each other as well as the slaves, is a proof of their dread of assassination. Many, therefore, it must be admitted—some from conscientious scruples, others from motives of economy, and others from feeling that slavery is a state of peril,—would prefer slavery to be abolished; but public sentiment in the South, I *presume*, is yet against abolition, and therefore the abolition slaveholders (if it be not a paradox) dare not openly avow their sentiments. That “the vast *majority* of them are anxious to have them emancipated,” I think is saying *a little too much*, because as slavery is a *state* concern, and the *majority* make the laws, that majority might abolish slavery. As it regards the safety of emancipation, is it not a most ridiculous notion, that the slaves would cut their masters' throats for giving them what above all things on earth they desire most, their freedom? They well know, that while depriving them of liberty and every thing they hold dear, treating them as beasts, and by their savage torturing oftentimes driving them to desperation, there is danger of assassination: but what earthly motive could the negro have to murder his master for granting him liberty? Would he not rather be actuated by motives of gratitude and kindness towards his master? The whole history of the world, the late emancipation in the West Indies, reason and common sense, all declare



that slaves are not made *worse* by emancipation, but infinitely better ; then what shadow of reason is there in the assertion, " that the slaveholders would set their slaves free if they could do it with safety."

There might be some inconvenience apprehended, when but a *few* are set free among slaves, because they might sympathize so much with their abused, wronged, and outraged brethren, as to excite insurrection ; besides, the slaves would perhaps become more discontented, from seeing blacks around them enjoying freedom.

These are probably the reasons which gave rise to the laws prohibiting the emancipation of the slaves, unless they be sent out of the slave country. They much prefer having them sent to Africa than to the non-slaveholding states, where they would expose their masters, and proclaim the horrors of slavery.

Hence many slaveholders are friendly to the Colonization Society, because it takes off those who are set free, and the refractory spirits, or in other words, such as will not calmly submit to be, and to see their fellows, used worse than brutes. And so far as the Colonization Society operates in this way, it is very agreeable to some. Other planters oppose the Colonization Society, because it sometimes sympathizes too much with the slave, because some of this Society look upon slavery as a sin, as inhuman, and have not always defended the slaveholder. So long then as the Colonization Society does not condemn slavery in too strong terms,—does not sympathize too much with the slave, and does nothing more than send off those who chance to be set free, especially if they will not tell them slavery is wrong, unjust, and sinful ; but most of all, if they get excited and denounce abolitionists,—slaveholders will bid them God speed, and even give them a doubloon\* occasionally, to encourage them on.

Slaveholders do not object generally to the Colonization Society, because it does not strike at the root of their favourite tree ; it only takes off a few superfluous twigs, prunes it and makes it thrive ; and the colonizationists with their pruning hooks help to keep

\* A Reverend gentleman when making a speech at a colonization meeting in the Musical Fund Hall, denounced the abolitionists with such vehemence and enthusiasm, that he won great applause, and pleased a southern gentleman so much, that he presented him with a doubloon.

off the abolitionists, who with their axes of truth are trying to get at it to cut it down. Some suppose the Colonization Society is doing all that can be done with safety ; hence it prevents them from doing any thing effectual ; and this slavery men well know. For when it is considered that the yearly increase of the slaves is about *sixty thousand*, and the Colonization Society does not send off yearly *five hundred*, slaveholders may laugh at the idea of its doing away slavery, and say it is like dipping out the ocean with a tea-spoon.

I am disposed to think, however, that the Colonization Society did much good before the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, by bringing the subject of slavery before the people ; and were it now confined to the South, it might still do good, if conducted in the right way. It can penetrate where abolitionism would be martyred ; and I doubt not there are thousands now under that banner who are at heart full-blooded abolitionists ; and whose object is not merely to get up a contribution of a few dollars to send off a poor slave, but who feel a deep and abiding interest in the freedom and happiness of the whole race ; and such, no doubt, regret very much that any one, under the name of their Society, should try to prejudice the community against abolitionists. They know it is not the design of abolitionists to excite the slave against his master—that this would only aggravate his misery—and that nothing could be more impolitic, for the furtherance of their cause, than to “ exhort and encourage the slaves to disobedience, insubordination and rebellion ;” and who will believe that abolitionists do this, although Dr. Sleight repeatedly asserts it ? He ought to have given a few examples or proofs, but it is probable these are contained in his “ *subsequent chapter*.”

We will now attend, for a few minutes, to Mr. Garrison.

Dr. Sleight asserts that Mr. Garrison “ was sent to Europe a few years ago as the representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and that he spoke the sentiments of those who sent him.”

In the first place, it is *not true* that Mr. Garrison “ was sent to Europe as the representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society.” He went to England, to be sure, some years ago, but it was *before* the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society ; so that this Society has nothing to do with what Mr. Garrison said in England.

If, while there, he said any thing obnoxious to Dr. S., Mr. Garrison alone is responsible for it. Mr. Garrison is by no means the vocal organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and probably most of the abolitionists do not agree with him in views of *expediency*, and do not consider themselves responsible for every thing he says, any more than all good christians are responsible for the assertions of Dr. Sleigh.

Again, he asserts that Mr. Garrison "poured forth abuse on the memory of *Washington* in Pennsylvania Hall." If Mr. Garrison did this, he was very foolish indeed; for next to holy writ, I consider the principles of Washington most to be revered. But, on inquiry, I have ascertained that this, like many other statements of the Doctor, has no foundation; and that not a word was spoken in the Hall, disrespectful of Washington, by any one.

To show the improbability of abolitionists abusing his memory, and also to disprove another important assertion, I shall here give the *principles* of Washington on the subject of slavery:

In a letter of President Washington to Robert Morris, he says, in reference to slavery, "There is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it;" and speaking of the legislative authority on the subject, "and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall not be wanting."

In a letter to Lafayette he says, in reference to his purchasing an estate with a view of emancipating the slaves, "This is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself into the minds of the people of this country; but I despair of seeing it."

In a letter to John F. Mercer, he says, "It being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country can be abolished by law."

"A toast by General Washington in the hospital at White Plains:

'Health to the sick and wounded, honour to the brave,  
Success to the American flag, and FREEDOM TO THE SLAVE.'

By a reference to Washington's will, it will be seen that he gave directions for the emancipation of his slaves. Therefore, it is proved that Washington was both in *principle* and *practice* an *abolitionist*. What then shall be thought of the following assertion of



Dr. Sleigh ? “ If abolitionism is to be supported, then the principles of Washington must be abandoned.”

### CHAPTER III.

*Design of Europe to dissolve the Union. Circulation of incendiary Pamphlets, &c. by Abolitionists, which has produced worse Treatment of the Slaves.*

“ Know you not that Europe is looking on these states with a jealous eye ? Were plans never devised by European powers to divide the friends of liberty,—to break up unions, and crush that goddess (Liberty) who ever haunts the bed of tyrants ? ”

Crush *liberty*, by crushing *slavery*, what a paradox !

It is admitted that England has shown some interest on the subject of American abolitionism ; but let us look into her motives, and see if she can have such a design as our author has hinted at. Until a few years ago, England herself had been guilty of slaveholding in her West India Colonies. She abolished her slavery there, and what has been the result ? Peace, happiness, and prosperity to slaves and masters. Abolition was as vehemently opposed by the slaveholders in her colonies, as it could be in any other country ; they declared it would bring death and destruction upon them and the slaves ! but so far from such consequences, it was productive of the most universal happiness to all parties, which will be hereafter proved by documentary evidence. Now is it not fair to infer, that England, having seen the good effects of abolition in her own colonies, wishes, from philanthropic motives, that slavery be abolished in the United States, for the *good* of slaves and masters ? Moreover, England is the principal purchaser of the cotton produced by the slaves in the United States ; her interest would, therefore, operate against anything that would directly tend to raise the price of that staple commodity, which abolition would be sure to do, if the negroes should not work as well as before, or if it should cost more to raise cotton by free labour. But the fact of her having tried the experiment of emancipation herself, and found it to have produced *incalculable good*, is at least presumptive evidence that she does

not wish the United States to adopt it for the sake of bringing evil upon them. But if it were the design of foreign powers to destroy and "break up unions,\* what characters would most likely be employed?" such as the gentleman has admitted abolitionists are, "the best, most moral, and most philanthropic men in America, and such as are actuated by the purest motives?"

\* Dissolving the Union is the bugbear which the South has long held up to the North, to frighten her from her duty and her rights:

"But you may reply, 'Do you think the South is not in earnest in her threat of dissolving the Union? I rejoin, by no means;—yet she pursues a perfectly reasonable course—(leaving out of view the justice or morality of it)—just such a course as I should expect she would pursue, emboldened as she must be by her multiplied triumphs over the North, by the use of the same weapon. 'We'll dissolve the Union!' was the cry, 'unless Missouri be admitted!' The North were frightened, and Missouri was admitted with *slavery* engraved on her forehead. 'We'll dissolve the Union!' unless the Indians be driven out of the South! The north forgot her treaties, parted with humanity, and it is done—the defenceless Indians are forced to "consent" to be driven out, or they are left, undefended to the mercies of southern land-jobbers and gold-hunters. 'We'll dissolve the Union! if the Tariff, (established at her own suggestion,) be not repealed or modified, so that our slave-labour may compete with your free-labour.' The Tariff is accordingly modified to suit the south. 'We'll dissolve the Union!' unless the freedom of speech and the press be put down in the north!!' With the promptness of commission-merchants, the alternative is adopted. Public assemblies, met for deliberation, are assailed and broken up at the north; her citizens are stoned, and beaten, and dragged through the streets of her cities; her presses are attacked by mobs, instigated and led on by men of influence and character; whilst those concerned in conducting them are compelled to fly from their homes, pursued as if they were noxious wild beasts; or if they remain to defend, they are sacrificed to appease the southern divinity. 'We'll dissolve the Union!' if slavery be abolished in the District of Columbia! The north, frightened from her propriety, declares that slavery ought not to be abolished there now. 'We'll dissolve the Union!' if you read petitions from your constituents for its abolition, or for stopping the slave-trade at the Capital, or between the states. FIFTY NORTHERN REPRESENTATIVES respond to the cry, 'down then with the RIGHT OF PETITION!!' All these assaults have succeeded, because the north has been frightened by the war-cry, '*We'll dissolve the Union!*'

After achieving so much by a process so simple, why should not the south persist in it when she strives for further conquests? No other course ought to be expected from her till this has failed. And it is not at all improbable that she will persist, till she almost persuades herself that she is serious in her menace to dissolve the Union. She may, in her eagerness, even approach so near the verge of dissolution, that the earth may give way under her feet, and she be dashed in ruins in the gulf below.

"Nothing will more surely arrest her fury, than the firm array of the north, setting up anew the almost forgotten principles of our fathers, and saying to the 'dark spirit of slavery,' 'thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.' This is the best—the only means—of saving the south from the fruits of her own folly—folly that has been so long, and so strangely encouraged by the north, that it has grown into intolerable arrogance—downright presumption."—James G. Birney, Esq.

The Doctor tells us, that

“The means adopted by the Abolitionists to accomplish their object are, the publication and circulation of vast numbers of papers and pamphlets, by way of enlightening the slave and slaveholder; but which consist, for the most part, of exhortations and encouragement to the slaves to disobedience, insubordination and rebellion. This advice is coupled with the most galling denunciations and threats towards the slaveholder. And since that society commenced its distribution of incendiary papers and pamphlets, many of the slaveholders have prevented their slaves learning *to read*; so that if slaves were before bound with fetters of hemp, the abolitionists have converted the hemp into iron.”

It will be recollected that the Doctor has previously stated, “that as far as mental incapability, the vast mass of the slaves are as incapable of taking care of themselves as the great proportion of lunatics.”

I ask the why? Does he not mean, because they are so ignorant and uneducated? He says as much in another part of his work. I have before cited some proofs that the negroes are not wanting in natural sense, and that they are fully able to take care of themselves when set free; but I do admit that the vast mass of the slaves are very ignorant, and do not know how to read. I speak from my own observation; for in travelling in most of the slave states, and while residing some months in several of the most southern, among the thousands I saw, I did not ascertain that more than two or three could read. In some neighbourhoods, in certain states, there may be some who are taught, but as a general thing, they have no learning. Then how are the slaves to get a knowledge of these incendiary pamphlets and “encouragements to insurrection” which they contain? Are the masters such fools as to read them to their slaves? Every one who has been or resided in the south knows the guards upon speech, and even upon post offices, so that it is next to an impossibility for the slaves to get a knowledge of such pamphlets, if even such were published.

In some parts of the south, Louisiana for instance, it is against the law for a white man to give a slave a piece of paper without his master's permission. He might be Lynched for it, perhaps hung! But what evidence have we that the condition of the slaves has been made worse by abolitionists? Our author would have it be-



lieved, that it is only since modern abolition societies sprung up, that slaves have been debarred from instruction. What reason is there for such a belief? If masters were ever in the habit of schooling their slaves, when or at what age would they most likely do it? Would it be at an age when their services were valuable; or would it not rather be in childhood, when they could do but little work? In childhood, of course. Well, it is only a few years since (1832) that these societies commenced their career! Consequently, all adults, and the greater part of youth, would have had the opportunity of being taught before the American Anti-Slavery Society existed, and would now be able to read; it would be only children that would now have no learning, in consequence of laws passed since the formation of the Anti-Slavery Society. But the fact of the vast mass of the slaves having no learning, is a proof that whether there were laws against it or not, they were not in the practice of instructing them. And it matters very little to an innocent man, whether he is murdered without law, or according to a law which a set of men have formed for his destruction!

The fact is, laws existed in the past century prohibiting slaves from being taught, and so they do now; but public opinion was always nearly or quite as much against giving them learning, as at present; for the following reasons: If slaves were learned to read, they could learn geography, and learn to write, so that they could write themselves certificates or passes, and readily get off. Besides, cultivating his mind would make him more sensibly feel the *injustice* of slavery; and as knowledge is power, he would of course be a more *dangerous* animal in their hands. For though the negroes, as a people, are the most mild and forbearing of any on the face of the globe, it is reasonable to suppose, that were they as well educated as whites of our country generally, they could not be kept in bondage. And if they are to continue in slavery, I sincerely think it is humanity as well as policy not to instruct them. True, they have the light of reason and the love of liberty which are inherent, and though many of them weep and mourn over their sad fate, yet they do not generally realize so much *mental* suffering as if they were enlightened. It was, therefore, motives of policy, which have always existed, which have prevented them from teaching the slaves, and *not the dread of abolitionists*.

That the slaves are treated worse, in any respect, since abolition societies commenced, is not supported by reason or facts. Slaveholders know that their conduct is more inspected now than formerly; and for fear of giving grounds for abolitionists to hold up their conduct in an unenviable light and expose it to the world, they are, if any thing, more careful how they treat their slaves. This may be corroborated by reference to an analogous case of the effects of abolition proceedings in the West Indies.

‘The treatment of the slaves, during the anti-slavery discussion in England, was manifestly milder than before.’—Dr. Daniell.

‘The effect of the proceedings in parliament against slavery, was to make the slaveholders treat the slaves better—milder laws were passed by the assembly, and the general condition of the slave was greatly ameliorated.—H. Armstrong, Esq.

‘The planters did not, as a general thing, increase the rigor of their discipline because of the anti-slavery discussions, but were generally more lenient than formerly.—S. Bourne, Esq.

‘We pursued a much milder policy toward our slaves after the agitation began in England.’—Mr. James Howell.

‘The planters did not treat their slaves worse on account of the anti-slavery discussions; but were more lenient and circumspect—Hon. N. Nugent.

‘There was far less cruelty exercised by the planters during the anti-slavery excitement in England. They were always on their guard to escape the notice of the abolitionists; they did not wish to have their names published abroad, and to be exposed as monsters of cruelty.’—David Cranstown, Esq. \*

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## CHAPTER IV.

### *Practical Results of Abolitionism fully carried out.*

WE now come to that part of the Doctor’s pamphlet which is the most important of all, to wit: THE PRACTICAL RESULTS OF ABOLITION FULLY CARRIED OUT.

This affords the finest specimen of the Doctor’s fruitful fancy. I should be pleased to transcribe his picture, so that the reader might view it in all its brightness and beauty, but unfortunately

\* The above is the testimony of former slaveholders of Antigua.

have not room. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that all the evils, horrors, cruelties, enormities, bloodshed and carnage, it is possible for the mind of man to conceive, he conjures up as the result of this dreadful catastrophe, the freedom of the slaves ! The finishing touch of his picture is as follows :

“ Her ever-constant companion, Pestilence, now attends, and thousands and thousands die of want and disease, calling down from heaven eternal curses on the heads of those who excited them to rebellion, the *Abolitionists* ! Take a view of the subject in any possible way ; let the blacks conquer, or let him be conquered, ruination to him is the inevitable result, totally independent of the awful calamities to which the white population would be subjected. Here is a two-horned dilemma,” &c.

The reader will observe, however, that the Doctor does not make this horrible picture as the result of *emancipation*, but of “ *rebellion*.”

Should slavery continue in the states much longer, there is really danger to be apprehended from their rising in mass to free themselves ; for it is a moral certainty, that the rapid increase of the slaves over the white population, will make them greatly superior in numerical strength, in no great length of time ; and then some of the evils above alluded to, if emancipation be not soon effected, may be realized.

I am aware, however, that many persons believe, or profess to believe, that immediate emancipation is unsafe, and fraught with the most dangerous consequences to masters and slaves. This may be considered the *grand popular objection* to abolitionism. But it may be well to bear in mind, not only the *ostensible* ground of opposition to abolitionism, but the *real* motives to it, to wit, *pecuniary interest*.\* There is no doubt, at least in my mind, that the principal reasons why slaveholders oppose abolition, is *imaginary self-interest*, and *love of power*.

I think the reader will perceive, from the facts I am about to offer, that they are mistaken, in abolition being against their interest. The old saying, that “ *Honesty is the best policy*,” would be emphatically true in this case.

\* The Lord have mercy on the souls of such men who, for the sake of paltry lucre, will lie against God and their own consciences !



Though by emancipation they would relinquish their *despotic power*, they would be amply compensated by peace of mind, calm repose, exemption from dread of insurrection, an approving conscience, and the smiles of Heaven. And if the lights of reason and experience be not shut out, they show us that it is not against our interest to allow men to *be men*, and to enjoy those inalienable rights which "all nature cries aloud" are theirs!

The extracts which I shall now give, are from the report of the Rev. James A. Thome and Joseph H. Kimball, Esq. who were deputed to the West Indies to make the proper investigations of the great experiment of abolition. Mr. Thome is a native, and still a resident, of Kentucky, and the son of a slaveholder: and Mr. Kimball was well known as an able editor in New Hampshire. Of course they were men in whom was reposed the fullest confidence to fill this important office. And no *doubt* has ever been publicly expressed with regard to the correctness of their statements.—Messrs. Thome and Kimball say, "these are not the sentiments of individuals alone, but are really the sentiments of the whole community:"

*Suddenness of change in the condition of Slaves, and views of Planters.*

Said Mr. Barnard, of Green Castle estate, "The transition from slavery to freedom, was like the passing suddenly out of a dark dungeon into the light of the sun."

R. B. Eldridge, Esq., a member of the assembly, remarked that, "There never had been, in the history of the world, so great and instantaneous a change in the condition of so large a body of people."

The Hon. Nicholas Nugent, speaker of the house of assembly, and proprietor, said, "There never was so sudden a transition from one state to another, by so large a body of people. When the clock began to strike the hour of twelve on the last night of July, 1834, the negroes of Antigua were *slaves*—when it ceased they were all *freemen*! It was a stupendous change," he said, "and it was one of the sublimest spectacles ever witnessed, to see the subjects of the change engaged, at the very moment it occurred, in worshipping God."

These, and very many similar ones, were the spontaneous expressions of men *who had long contended against the change of which they spoke.*

Some time previous to the abolition of slavery, a meeting of the

influential men of the island was called in St. John's, to memorialize parliament against the measure of abolition. When the meeting convened, the Hon. Samuel O. Baijer, who had been the champion of the opposition, was called upon to propose a plan of procedure. To the consternation of the pro-slavery meeting, their leader arose and spoke to the following effect: "Gentlemen, my previous sentiments on this subject are well known to you all; be not surprised to learn that they have undergone an entire change. I have not altered my views without mature deliberation. I have been making calculations with regard to the probable results of emancipation, and *I have ascertained\* beyond a doubt, that I can cultivate my estate at least one-third cheaper by free labour, than by slave labour.*" After Mr. B. had finished his remarks, Mr. S. Shands, member of assembly, and a wealthy proprietor, observed that he entertained precisely the same views with those just expressed; but he thought that the honourable gentleman had been unwise in uttering them in so public a manner; "for," said he, "should these sentiments reach the ear of parliament, as coming from us, *it might induce them to withhold the compensation.*"

Col. Edwards, member of the assembly, then arose and said, that he had long been opposed to slavery, but he had not *dared to avow his sentiments.*

As might be supposed, the meeting adjourned without effecting the object for which it was convened.

When the question came before the colonial assembly, similar discussions ensued, and finally the bill for immediate emancipation passed both bodies *unanimously.*

#### *Slaves Turned Loose.*

For some time previous to the first of August, forebodings of disaster lowered over the island. The day was fixed! Thirty thousand degraded human beings were to be brought forth from the dungeon of slavery, and "turned loose on the community!" and this was to be done "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye."

Gloomy apprehensions were entertained by many of the planters. Some timorous families did not go to bed on the night of the 31st of July; fear drove sleep from their eyes, and they awaited with fluttering pulse the hour of midnight, fearing lest the same bell which sounded the jubilee of the slaves, might toll the death-knell of the masters.

The more intelligent, who understood the disposition of the negroes, and contemplated the natural tendencies of emancipation, through philosophical principles, and in the light of human nature and history, were free from alarm.

To convey to the reader some idea of the manner in which the

\* Experiment proved this calculation to be true.

great crisis passed, we give the substance of several accounts which were related to us in different parts of the island, by those who witnessed them.

The Wesleyans kept "watch-night," in all their chapels on the night of the 31st July. One of the Wesleyan missionaries gave us an account of the watch-meeting at the chapel in St. John's. The spacious house was filled with the candidates for liberty. All was animation and eagerness. A mighty chorus of voices swelled the song of expectation and joy, and as they united in prayer, the voice of the leader was drowned in the universal acclamations of thanksgiving and praise, and blessing, and honour, and glory to God, who had come down for their deliverance. In such exercises the evening was spent, until the hour of twelve approached. The missionary then proposed, that when the clock on the cathedral should begin to strike, the whole congregation should fall upon their knees and receive the boon of freedom in silence. Accordingly, as the loud bell tolled its first note, the immense assembly fell prostrate on their knees. All was silence, save the quivering, half-stifled breath of the struggling spirit. The slow notes of the clock fell upon the multitude; peal on peal, peal on peal, rolled over the prostrate throng, in tones of angel's voices, thrilling among the desolate chords and weary heart-strings. Scarce had the clock sounded its last note, when the lightning flashed vividly around, and a loud peal of thunder roared along the sky—God's pillar of fire, and trump of jubilee! A moment of profoundest silence passed—then came the *burst*—they broke forth in prayer; they shouted, they sung, "Glory," "alleluia;" they clapped their hands, leaped up, fell down, clasped each other in their free arms, cried, laughed and went to and fro, tossing upward their unfettered hands; but high above the whole there was a mighty sound, which ever and anon swelled up; it was the utterings, in broken negro dialect, of gratitude to God.

After this gush of excitement had spent itself, and the congregation became calm, the religious exercises were resumed, and the remainder of the night was occupied in singing and prayer, in reading the Bible, and in addresses from the missionaries explaining the nature of the freedom just received, and exhorting the freed people to be industrious, steady, obedient to the laws, and to show themselves in all things worthy of the high boon which God had conferred upon them.

The first of August came on Friday, and a release was proclaimed from all work until the next Monday. The day was chiefly spent by the great mass of the negroes, in the churches and chapels. Thither they flocked "as clouds, and as doves to their windows." The clergy and missionaries throughout the island were actively engaged, seizing the opportunity, in order to enlighten the people on



all the duties and responsibilities of their new relation, and above all, urging them to the attainment of that higher liberty with which Christ maketh his children free. In every quarter we were assured that the day was like a Sabbath. Work had ceased; the hum of business was still, and noise and tumult were unheard in the streets. Tranquillity pervaded the towns and country. A Sabbath indeed! when the wicked ceased from troubling, and the weary were at rest, and the slave was free from his master! The planters informed us that they went to the chapels where their own people were assembled, greeted them, shook hands with them, and exchanged the most hearty good wishes.

The churches and chapels were thronged all over the island. At Cedar Hill, a Moravian station, the crowd was so great that the minister was obliged to remove the meeting from the chapel to a neighbouring grove.

At Grace Hill, another Moravian station, the negroes went to the missionary on the day before the first of August, and begged that they might be allowed to have a meeting in the chapel at sunrise. It is the usual practice among the Moravians to hold but one sunrise meeting during the year, and that is on the morning of Easter; but as the people besought very earnestly for this special favour on the Easter morning of their freedom, it was granted to them.

Early in the morning they assembled at the chapel. For some time they sat in perfect silence. The missionary then proposed that they should kneel down and sing. The whole audience fell prostrate upon their knees, and sung a hymn commencing with the following words:

"Now let us praise the Lord,  
With body, soul and spirit,  
Who doth such wondrous things,  
Beyond our sense and merit."

The singing was frequently interrupted with the tears and sobbings of the melted people, until finally it was wholly arrested, and a tumult of emotion overwhelmed the congregation.

During the day, repeated meetings were held. At eleven o'clock, the people assembled in vast numbers. There were at least a *thousand* persons around the chapel who could not get in. For once the house of God suffered violence, and the violent took it by force. After all the services of the day, the people went again to the missionaries in a body, and petitioned to have a meeting in the evening.

At Grace Bay, the people, all dressed in white, assembled in a spacious court in front of the Moravian chapel. They formed a procession, and walked arm in arm into the chapel. Similar scenes occurred at all the chapels, and at the churches also. We were told by the missionaries, that the dress of the negroes on that occasion,

was uncommonly simple and modest. There was not the least disposition to gaiety.

We were also informed by planters and missionaries in every part of the island, that there was not a single dance known of, either day or night, nor so much as a fiddle played. There was no riotous assemblies, no drunken carousals. It was not in such channels that the excitement of the emancipated flowed. They were as far from dissipation and debauchery, as they were from violence and carnage. GRATITUDE was the absorbing emotion. From the hill-tops, and the valleys, the cry of a disenthralled people went upward, like the sound of many waters, "Glory to God, glory to God."

The militia were not called out during Christmas holidays. *Before* emancipation, martial law invariably prevailed on the holidays, but the very first Christmas after emancipation, the Governor made a proclamation, stating that *in consequence of the abolition of slavery*, it was no longer necessary to resort to such a precaution. There has not been a parade of soldiery on any subsequent Christmas.

"Previous to emancipation, many persons apprehended violence and bloodshed as the consequence of turning the slaves loose. But when emancipation took place, all these apprehensions vanished. The sense of personal security is universal. We know not of a single instance in which the negroes have exhibited a *revengful spirit*.

R. Higinbotham, United States Consul, remarked: "The general conduct of the negroes has been worthy of much praise, especially considering the sudden transition from slavery to unrestricted freedom. Their demeanor is peaceable and orderly."

"The Governor informed us that 'it was *universally admitted*, that emancipation had been a great blessing to the island.'

"They are as a body, *more* industrious than when slaves, for the obvious reason that they are *working for themselves*."

The conduct of the negroes on the first of August, 1834, is ample proof that GRATITUDE *is a prominent trait of the negro character*; and their uniform conduct since that event manifests an *habitual* feeling of gratitude. Said one, "The liberty we received from the king, we can never sufficiently thank God for; whenever we think of it, our hearts go out in gratitude to God." Similar expressions we heard repeatedly from the negroes. We observed that the slightest allusion to the first of August, in a company of freed persons, would awaken powerful emotions, accompanied with exclamations of "tank de good Lord," "bless de Saviour," "praise de blessed Saviour," and such like.

For a full account of the West India emancipation, see the work of Thome and Kimball.

## CHAPTER V.

*"Where there is no Law there is no Transgression." The Bible sanctions Slavery and does not condemn purchasing or selling Men—Commands every Slave to remain a Slave.*

"Yet, yet, degraded man, the expected day,  
That breaks your better cup, is far away ;  
Trade, wealth, and fashion ask you still to bleed,  
AND HOLY MEN GIVE SCRIPTURE for the deed !"

"Where there is no law there is no transgression." (Rom. iv. 4.) And as there is no law prohibitory of slaveholding, it cannot be considered sin, (for sin is a transgression of the law,) by any except those who aim at possessing a higher degree of moral worth and righteousness than Jesus Christ himself," &c.

Let us examine this text a little, and see whether it is proper to apply it so as to sanction slavery. He tells us, likewise, there is no law in the scriptures against selling men. Then I infer there is no law in the Bible prohibitory of a man's selling his own children ; consequently it would be no sin for any man, white or black, to sell his own children for money into perpetual slavery. It is not probable this will be done in Pennsylvania, because the laws of the *state* prohibit it ; but in Virginia, if a white man happen to have children that are part black, as many slaveholders do, would it be no sin to sell these children, because scripture does not give a special prohibitory law respecting it ? "O no !" replies the doctor ; "where there is no law there is no transgression." Under these circumstances, probably, the gentleman, as other slaveholders, would not like to see slaves around him, who resembled their father so much, and considering it no sin to sell them, and as keeping them would show there had been a violation of the seventh commandment, is it not probable he would sell them in order to put away this sin ? It is true that slaveholders do not *all* sell their dark children ; I know of some exceptions ; for I have seen many pretty little mulattos, who resembled their master very much, running about his plantation ; and I might give an example of a slaveholder at the south, well known throughout the United States, who, I am



credibly informed, has brought up his mulatto daughters well, given them good educations, keeps them in his own parlour, and has attempted to introduce them into good white society. Were he in Pennsylvania, it is probable he would not be permitted to do so; but as he lives in the south, where people are not so much opposed to amalgamation, he is not molested in the enjoyment of his own taste. Perhaps these gentlemen do not understand the scriptures exactly as the doctor does, and are conscientiously scrupulous about selling them, for fear it is a sin; and rather than disobey the scriptures, (righteous men!) they keep their natural colored children, and have them whipt up the same as other slaves, to have it supposed they have no affection for them, and consequently cannot be their fathers.

Again, according to Dr. S., as there is no law in the Bible against selling *men*, there can be none against selling *women*; hence any unprincipled fellow may marry a black woman in a free state, take her to the south and sell her, and it is no transgression, no sin! Admirable doctrine! how divine!

We will now examine his construction of this other text, and see if it sanctions slavery. It is as follows: "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Ex. xxi. 16. The doctor says it does not read, 'he that stealeth or selleth.' 'The whole and only crime condemned here *was stealing the man.*' Let us take the text as it is, and see what we can make out of it. When this law was given by Moses, there were of course no slaves in Israel; the question is, how could they come in possession of them? There was no way except to steal them, or buy them of those who had stolen them. First, the law says, he that stealeth a man and selleth him, "shall surely be put to death." Then none could be sold. Second, he that stealeth a man, and hath him found in his hand, shall surely be put to death. Then none could be kept by him that had stolen him. Consequently, if a man perchance had been stolen, he could not be sold, and could not be kept. Therefore, how could he be held as a slave? It strikes me, that this was the most effectual anti-slavery law that it was possible to devise; there was no way of getting round it. Prevention is always better than cure, and this effectually prevented it. What would be the necessity of passing a law to prohibit the *eating* of stolen fruit; if

there was a law to prevent *stealing* it, and *selling* it, and *having in hand*? But the Doctor says :

“When we read of individuals having been sold, having been purchased, having been bought with money, &c., we cannot doubt for a moment, the propriety of the term slave ; and that no matter whether their servitude was temporary or forever, whether they had sold themselves or were sold by others, they were *slaves* to all intents and purposes, from the moment they were sold they became subject to involuntary servitude.”

According to this doctrine, the man who sells his time, or hires in any employment for a year, is a slave ; every apprentice, whose time is sold for a term of years to his master, for and in consideration of a trade, is a slave. Oh, but says the Doctor, if these persons are ill-treated or abused, they can leave their masters ! I reply, so could the bondmen spoken of in scripture, and were protected effectually from their master's obtaining them again, by the following law, “Thou shalt not deliver unto his master, the servant which has escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best ; thou shalt not oppress him.” *Deut. xxiii. c. 15, 16 v.* Under this law, no slaveholder in the south could hold his slaves for a single day ! As soon as they should escape from their master's plantation, they would be free ! They would not then have to present their written pass, but none would dare molest them ; and they could “dwell where it liketh them best.”

But notwithstanding these prohibitions of slavery, lest some should clandestinely and unlawfully hold men in involuntary servitude, and entail it on their posterity, all bondmen were commanded to be set free—so that there should be no deception, no mistake ; by the following general law, “And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout *all* the land, unto *all the inhabitants* thereof ; it shall be a jubilee unto you ; and ye shall return every man unto his family.” *Lev. xxv.* It is plain from the above texts, that slavery could not have existed according to the laws of the Bible, and that the bondmen, spoken of in the scriptures, were voluntary servants. All the above laws prevented and guarded against slavery. But even admitting that contrary to these laws slaves were held, or call the bondmen slaves if you please, and what is the consequence ?

If we go according to the Bible, ("and to its authority we ought always to consent to strike,") we must admit, that as we have existed as a nation sixty-two years, the slaves should have been set free twelve years ago; and that we are indebted to them for twelve years' labour; which, at the moderate calculation of twenty dollars a head per year, (exclusive of their keeping,) amounts to about *six hundred millions*, which, (setting aside the justice or injustice of retaining their pay from them for fifty years previous,) we are *scripturally bound to pay, and immediately to emancipate them*.

But our author has gone to the *New Testament*, also, to try to get some excuse for slavery; and had he merely quoted it *as it is*, it would have been unnecessary to comment upon it; but in every one of these quotations, where the word *servant* occurs in the text, he has made it *slave*. He pretends, the original word *doulos* in the Greek, which is invariably rendered servant in English, means *slave* as well as servant. So far as my information goes, the Doctor is incorrect in this particular; but without citing any learned authorities, I think the absurdity of his version will be seen from the scriptures themselves. The following, among the Doctor's quotations, are the most suitable for his purpose, at least according to his way of rendering them: "Art thou called, being a *slave*, care not for it." 1 Cor. vii. 21. "*Slaves* be obedient to those that are your masters *according to the flesh*." Eph. vi. 5. "*Slaves* obey in all things your masters." Col. iii. 22. The Doctor knew very well, that to quote these texts with the word *servant*, would not answer his purpose; he therefore converted it into *slave*. If he prefers this translation, he is welcome to it; but in the mean time I will quote a few passages, which have the word *servant*, and the same original, (*doulos*), in the Greek. 1 Cor. vii. 23: "Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the slaves (servants) of men." This is contained in the same chapter with one of the Doctor's quotations, and it is addressed to the very same persons, consequently, if servant means slave, here there is a positive prohibition of slavery. In Philippians i. 1, we have as follows: "Paul and Timotheus, slaves (servants) of Jesus Christ," &c. Again, Romans i. 1, "Paul, a slave (servant) of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God." Then, according to the Doctor, *St. Paul* and *Timotheus* were *slaves*, and the *Saviour* a *slave*.



holder. The Bible sanction slavery ! What folly ! what wilful blindness ! what perversion will not men be guilty of, to cloak highhanded sin against God and man !

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## CHAPTER VI.

### *Happiness of the Slaves. Fatal objection to Abolitionism.*

We are told by Doctor Sleight, "the very persons (the slaves) whom we feed, clothe, instruct, &c., thus enjoy more comfort and happiness, than nine-tenths of the labouring class of white free persons in Europe !"

I presume he has drawn his conclusions from the representations of slaveholders, or from a few fortunate cases in the vicinity of the free states ; for certainly, his observations must have been very imperfect and partial indeed, if they were made in the southern or south-western states. I recollect, from the first superficial glance of slavery I had, in some parts of Maryland and Kentucky, I was inclined to think the horrors of slavery had been magnified, for many of the slaves were apparently contented. But this is easily accounted for ; the conduct of masters here is so much exposed to observation of people of the free states, that it operates as a great check upon the bad treatment of slaves. The circumstances of these and the more southern states are also so different, that there is not so much temptation to bad usage ; besides, they know it is much easier for the slaves to get off, when they are held near the free states, than when in the far south. Virginia, Maryland and Kentucky is the principal stock-raising country of slaves ; from these states chiefly are driven to market the annual supplies for the south and south-west, to stock new plantations. The cultivation of tobacco, corn and wheat in these states is comparatively easy, and does not give such chance for hard driving, as the sugar and cotton cultivation in the south and south-west ; and those which are intended for market, are fed and clothed tolerably well. But even in these mild states on investigating the subject, so far as I could ascertain, the slaves were anxious to be free, and would have given worlds for liberty ! The moment freedom was hinted to them, tears started in their eyes, and they could scarcely give utterance to

their emotions. They pine for liberty, and think it a hard case to be doomed to perpetual slavery. If these are the sentiments and feelings of those under the mildest treatment, what must be the feelings of those who receive such treatment as the generality do in the far south and west, where they have stinted allowances of the poorest food and clothing, and are treated worse than brutes? This I speak from a personal knowledge of facts. In Mississippi and Louisiana, on the cotton and sugar plantations, they are a part of the year worked from daylight, with very little intermission, till nine o'clock at night under the lash; and after working all the week they are frequently made to butcher or do other work on Sundays. These things, however, are almost too trifling to mention, when compared with the many outrageous abuses to which they are constantly subjected. It would be impossible to describe them in a few pages. I know there are some kind masters, but most of them are not. There seems to be something in the very nature of slavery, that induces a tyrannical, overbearing and unfeeling disposition towards the slave; he is considered *property* over which they have unlimited control; they may abuse him to any extent, and even kill him with impunity. I will give one example. A hungry slave, without leave, killed a pig belonging to the same plantation with himself; the master had him stripped naked, staked down according to custom, that is, stakes driven in the ground so as to lock over his neck, legs and arms, then whipped him till he was tired, then took his knife and cut a ring round from the shoulders to the hips, and told his overseer to whip the skin all out of the space within the ring before he should quit. In vain did the slave plead in extenuation of his crime of killing the pig, that hunger impelled him to it, and that he would never again do any thing to offend his master! Before the overseer's task was finished, the gush of blood and cries ceased, and the slave expired! A hole was dug for the purpose, the body thrown in and covered, and that was the last of it! Nothing was done about the murder,—the master was not even turned out of church, of which he was a member, and did not appear to be disrespected by his neighbours on account of it. From my knowledge of the character of this gentleman, and also of the clergyman residing in the neighbourhood, who related to me the

case, being also a slaveholder, I had no reason to doubt the circumstances were literally true.

I do not know that such instances are common, yet they sometimes occur, and go to show how little the life of a slave is regarded when their masters get in a passion. Numerous other facts might be mentioned, to prove not only that the slaves are unhappy, have generally hard usage and cruel treatment, but also to illustrate the debasing effect which slavery has on slaveholders, by giving them power to exercise the worst passions to an unlimited extent. In Louisiana (as in some other states) it is death to a slave to strike or draw blood in anger from a white man, no matter what the provocation or abuse! I saw one hung in New Orleans, not for killing, but inflicting a wound, in self-defence, on a white man; I have seen others beaten with clubs, and dragged to prison by ruffians, where they were again cruelly whipt, for no other offence than that they did not cringe as doggedly before them, as it was supposed comported with the fancied dignity of these worthless dregs of white society.

It would be endless to go into all the abuses practised upon the slaves, the perplexities, irritations and cruelties, to which they are obliged to submit; every one knows that husbands and wives, children and parents are liable every day to be separated and sold; nothing is their own; and even if it were true that they have enough to eat and to wear, and were not shamefully whipped, what is life in slavery? Is it no abuse to rob a man of liberty, smother his immortal mind in darkness, and degrade him to the level of a brute? Enough has been said on this point. The precepts of the blessed Saviour, the good and great of all nations unanimously declare, that slavery is an outrageous, inhuman monstrosity! Then who, with a spark of reason, can unblushingly defend it, and affirm that it makes men happy!!!

“There is one more fatal objection to the abolition system, viz. That its whole aim is the removal of the *effect* and not the cause! That slavery is the cause of much evil, I do not pretend to deny; but then slavery itself is only an effect. Abolitionism is, therefore, unphilosophical, absurd, fallacious and inefficacious. For example, a person gets a splinter of wood into his finger, the finger inflames, the arm inflames, the whole body inflames—delirium or lock-jaw supervenes, and death closes the scene.”

Now, previous to the close of the scene, when the whole body



is inflamed, delirium or lock-jaw has supervened ; the Doctor, in order to save the life of the patient, would rest his hopes on pulling out the splinter. It would be uncourteous to question the professional skill of a " Professor of Surgery," and a " F. R. C. S. L. &c. &c. &c.," but he who, at this stage of the disease, would undertake to save the life of the patient by simply pulling out the splinter, could have no great fund of surgical knowledge. Every scientific surgeon or physician knows, that to save the patient when the inflammation has proceeded to such a dangerous extent as to have involved the whole system, when delirium and lock-jaw are about to take place, that nothing but the most prompt and decisive remedial agents, applied so as to act upon the whole system, could have any chance of success. It would be right to pull out the splinter, but the idea of curing by this alone would be ridiculous. The splinter is the *slave trade*, or cause ; the inflammation, *slaveholding*, or effect. The splinter remained in the United States till it produced extensive inflammation, and was then extracted (by the abolition of the slave trade,) but the inflammation has still gone on, till it has involved the whole system, and well-nigh produced *lock-jaw*. How now shall we save this system from impending ruin ? Will it be by setting at the bedside of the patient, and guarding against splinters ? Or must it not be by administering powerful antiphlogistics to subdue the inflammation, and prompt antispasmodics, to throw off the *lock-jaw* ? Had the splinter been early extracted, nothing more would have been necessary to allay the inflammation than the application of a topical remedy : so, had the slave trade been abolished before slavery had implicated some of the vital organs, the spontaneous efforts of nature might have eradicated it ; but now, when the inflammation is so extended, and rapidly gaining the ascendancy over the patient, he, furious and raving, and beginning to fancy his best friends his worst enemies, something more effectual must be done than merely pulling out the splinter ; if it be not, we shall find to our sorrow that not only *delirium*, and *lock-jaw*, but *death* will supervene !

## CHAPTER VII.

*Education and Morality of the Slaves. Sentiments of Slaveholders. Conclusion.*

A FEW remarks on the education and morality of slaves, and the sentiments of slaveholders, will conclude our review and exposition. Towards the conclusion of Dr. Sleight's pamphlet, he has given us reports of the flourishing state of education and religion in some particular localities of the south, signed *Truth, New England Man, &c.* ; but most probably written by slaveholders. However, for the sake of argument, we will allow them to be true. Then what do they prove?

He brings them forward to prove the "calumny circulated respecting the state of ignorance and irreligion in which all the slaveholders keep their slaves, is as great a falsehood as was ever uttered by man or devils." If they prove any thing, I should think it would be the reverse of what he has told us in the first part of his pamphlet, viz., "That as far as mental incapability, the slaves are as incapable of taking care of themselves as lunatics." The doctor seems to have obtained the above information after the first part of his book had been stereotyped, for it will be recollected that he there avowed his reason "for not advocating the immediate emancipation of the slaves," to be "their mental inabilities to take care of themselves." I suppose, after receiving this intelligence of the learning and morality of the slaves, he has of course become an abolitionist; and the abolitionists may now calculate on his "powerful aid," in the promotion of their cause. Indeed, it would seem that his sentiments, when he wrote this part of his book, had undergone an entire change; for in the first part of his work he advocated slavery with such eloquence, as almost to induce people to fall in love with it; in the latter part, he gives the testimony of about a dozen slaveholders against slavery, condemning it in the strongest terms, and expressing abolition sentiments. The following are a few examples. Mr. Lavasseur says:

"Happily, there is no part of the civilized world, in which it is necessary to discuss the justice or injustice of the principle of negro slavery; at the present day, every sane man agrees that it is a monstrosity, and it would be altogether inaccurate, to suppose that there are in the United States, more than elsewhere, individuals suffi-

ciently *senseless*\* to seek to defend it, either by their writings or conversation. For myself, who have traversed the twenty-four states of the Union, and in the course of a year have had more than one opportunity of hearing long and keen discussions upon this subject, I declare that I never have found but a single person who seriously defended this principle."

Another says ; "It is shocking to human nature that any race of mankind, and their posterity should be sentenced to perpetual slavery." And another, "that duty, honour, and interest call upon us to prepare the way for its removal, we must act," &c.

"These," the Doctor says, "are the sentiments of men of eminent talents, citizens of the south, and slaveholders."

If Dr. Sleight commenced to write a book against abolitionism, and became convinced, after investigating the subject, that he was on the wrong side, I suppose it would not have done to injure the sale of his book by confessing his conversion ; but as soon as his pamphlet shall have been sold, I think we may reasonably expect to see another from his pen, advocating the opposite side of the question ; for great minds, when convinced of having been wrong, are prompt to renounce and correct their errors.

But the Doctor hopes the "short time consumed in writing" his pamphlet, "will be received by the public as a sufficient apology for any errors" it contains. If this be a reasonable excuse, then any man may write a book, bring erroneous charges against persons and societies, and because, forsooth, he has hurried over it, so as to get it out in the stage of public excitement, he must be perfectly excused, on the ground of doing it in so "short a time." This would be very much like the physician who should administer fatal medicine, and then offer as an apology that he did *not take time* to ascertain it was poison ; or like the surgeon, who, in his haste to *make a fee*, should amputate the sound limb instead of the diseased one. Would the despatch with which he performed it excuse him, or atone for the mischief?

The author has only to add, that he has no personal acquaintance with the gentleman whose work he has taken the liberty to review. He has made this exposition at his own suggestion, solely with the purpose of giving some assistance to the cause of truth ; and for its contents, in whatever light they may be considered, as no other person has had a hand in it, the writer is alone responsible.

\* Dr. S. defends it, and puts it on a par with liberty and christianity.



## P L A N \*

*For entirely abolishing the American Anti-Slavery Society, and its Auxiliaries, in a way that will greatly promote the interests of both the Slave and Free States, by a Tennessean.*

The superior prosperity of free states, strikingly demonstrates the superior advantages of free labour. The slave states, with all their advantages of territory, of soil, of climate, and richness of products, have a free population of but a little upwards of three millions; while the free states have one of nearly, if not quite ten millions. The honest hand of free labour, has turned the cold and barren lands of New England into fruitful fields, and caused them to teem with a wealthy, healthy and happy population; the vast wealth, improvements and population of New York and Pennsylvania, are striking evidences of the superior value of free labour. Its value is equally attested by the equally prosperous condition of Ohio; a few years since she sprung up in a mighty forest; now behold her splendid cities, her stupendous canals, and her million inhabitants.— Witness how the forests of Indiana and Michigan are falling before the axe of the free labourer. See how the hand of free labour is turning the vast prairies of Illinois into fruitful fields. All these splendid facts, are so many demonstrations of the value of free labour; and the sparse population, and withering aspect of the slave states, speak the curse of God upon slave labour. “Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour’s services without wages, and giveth him not for his work.” Jer. xxii. 19.

The immediate abolition of slavery will remedy the sinking condition of the slave states. A more productive system of labour will be substituted; the destructive vices resulting from the slave system will be abolished; the style of living will be changed; and economy will take the place of extravagance; the labourers themselves will acquire property, and thus increase the wealth of the country, and be able to support public institutions. Labour will become reputable, and industry will pour her vials of health and morality upon all classes of society. Churches and schools will be multiplied, the long-banished mechanics will return and rear their shops and factories all over the land; the blighted villages will soon grow to cities, and the wasted lands, under the hand of free labour, will become as the garden of Eden; turnpikes, rail-roads and canals will abound, and be crowded with the rich products of the soil. And the south shall soon possess a population more dense, and rich and happy than of the north. Such will be the results of justice. Surely, then, immediate emancipation will greatly increase the wealth and happiness of the slave states.

The system of slavery is extremely dangerous. In several of the states the slaves are a majority. Several causes contribute to increase the slave population beyond that of the free. One is, slaves are, contrary to law, secretly brought from Africa; another is, the promiscuous manner in which slaves live, and in many instances they are bred for market just like beasts; a third is, the free inhabitants are placed without employment, and afforded the means of luxurious living and vicious habits; consequently, they die off before the slave population. Owing to these causes, the slaves are increasing vastly beyond the free people. This increase will soon give them such a majority, as will enable them to exterminate the white population. The cruel treatment they receive, the natural love

\* Our limits do not allow the inclusion of the whole of this excellent plan. However, this is sufficient for our purpose.

of liberty, will ever place them under the strongest temptations to insurrection. It cannot be denied, that they have already made many desperate efforts for liberty; deep and dark plans have been laid for destroying their masters; and some of them have been partially executed. The massacre of helpless women and children at Southampton, stands out as an awful warning to slaveholders; and presents, in lines of innocent blood, the danger of the slave system. The annual increase of slaves over all that die, is sixty thousand. And the increase of that must be added every year in future; therefore, the time is not far distant, when their annual increase will be a million. They are now within half a million of being equal to the entire white population of the slave states. Every one capable of counting twenty, can see that such an increase will inevitably secure the ruin of the slave states; the additional power of the free states cannot long prevent it. The number will soon be so great, that they can accomplish the work of slaughter and ruin, before it will be possible to bring aid from the free states. In several of the states, the danger is now extreme; in many places, the people live in constant apprehension of being suddenly murdered. Indeed, an insurrection may suddenly take place, even where slaves are comparatively few, and many shocking murders may be committed, which has frequently been the case. The danger of living among slaves, tends to drive out the free inhabitants, and thus increases the evil. The desire of extending their farms, induces slaveholders to engross the lands, and this also produces a decrease of the free population; from these several causes, the danger will increase every year, until sudden ruin will desolate the land. It is not easy to conceive the deplorable condition of the slave states; they seem to feel as if they were living upon a dreadful volcano, heaving beneath their feet every moment, and ready to overwhelm them in interminable ruin. Every attempt to discuss the subject of slavery gives them alarm; lest the slave should learn his rights, and be instigated to insurrection; and every public effort to abolish the system makes them frantic. They are like the patient who has abandoned the hope of life, and views medicine as only calculated to shorten his hours, and therefore desires to be let alone to breathe as long as he can. They seem as if they viewed the hour of remedy past, and desire to be let alone, lest the remedy, instead of giving relief, should shorten their hours. Like infuriated devils, they cry, let us alone,—“Art thou come to torment us before the time.” The present agitation of the slave states strikingly resembles the madness of despair; it is unreasonable in the extreme. There is yet a remedy for their ruined condition, and one that is both safe and practicable. If they will but abolish immediately the entire system of slavery, the danger will at once be over. The increase of the coloured population, resulting from slavery, will forever cease; no more will be brought from Africa; no more will be bred for market; their increase will be by the regular laws of marriage, and, of course, will not exceed that of the white people, who will soon assume temperate, moral and industrious habits; the result of which will be health, long life, and a numerous offspring. Besides all this, the causes that now prevent the settlement of the industrious and virtuous classes of the white people will cease, and the influence of such will be great. The south, as before stated, is capable of sustaining a denser population than the north; nothing but slavery now prevents it. But for this, there would be stronger inducements to settle in those milder and more productive regions. There is yet room in the slave states and territory, for a white population of more than thirty millions. Among such a population as would soon flow to the south, the coloured people would scarcely be felt.

*If our southern brethren would calm down a little, and look at this plan of abolishing the American Anti-Slavery Society, and all its auxiliaries, they will see that it is not only safe and practicable, but will vastly enrich the slave states; they will perceive that their lands will increase in value, equal to the present*

worth of their slaves ; and whole states will be saved from a dreadful ruin. All this is not mere theory ; it is matter of actual experiment. It has been tested under far more disadvantageous circumstances. In Antigua, where the slaves were fifteen to every white person, and where we may reasonably conclude they were more degraded than the generality of slaves in the United States, they were all liberated in a single day. The result was peace and freedom from danger ; the armed force necessary to keep them from insurrection when in slavery, is now disbanded ; and as the danger of living on the island has passed away, the lands have greatly increased in value. The planters now say, that what the British government gave them for their slaves, was a gratuity ; and that their circumstances have been so much better, that they would not change back again to slavery, for any consideration, however great. A similar experiment has been made in Bermuda, with equal success. The American slave states afford much greater facilities for such a change, as the number of slaves is not so great in proportion to the free people ; and besides this, there is room for a vast increase of white population, and the contiguity of the free states, so densely populated, would afford the means of soon filling it. This plan will suit well those who are in favour of colonizing the coloured people. When all the anti-slavery societies are abolished, there will be no formidable opposition to colonization, unless the planters should combine to oppose carrying so many labourers from the country, lest the price of labour should rise. From this source, there may be still danger of strenuous opposition ; but then, colonizationists will have the consolation of knowing, that their labours are no longer needed.

This plan of abolishing all the anti-slavery societies, will be greatly to the interest of the free states.

1st. Slavery exists in the District of Columbia and in the territory of Florida, under laws made by congress. The general government is bound by the constitution, to protect every state from foreign invasion and domestic insurrection. Hence the lives and property of the people of the free states are pledged for the suppression of slave insurrections. The foreign slave trade was long carried on under the general government, and the domestic slave trade still exists in all its horrors ; and under it have existed slave territories that have now become slave states. In all these respects, the free states lie under the sin and disgrace of slavery. The immediate and entire abolition of slavery would relieve them from this sin and disgrace of a system of the most barbarous cruelty. This would be greatly to their interest.

2nd. Cruel and oppressive laws are enacted by the slave states, to drive out from among their slaves all that benevolent persons have liberated from slavery. As many as three hundred and fifty of the most degraded slaves of old Virginia were liberated, and at once driven to the state of Ohio. While the principles of christianity, and even common humanity require us to allow such objects of oppression an asylum amongst us, it must be admitted, that an ignorant and degraded population of any sort, white or black, is a great disadvantage. And while ever slavery exists, such a population will be thrown upon the free states. Now, if slavery were abolished, this tendency to drive out the coloured people would cease ; driving them out would then increase the price of labour, and would be contrary to the interests of planters and men of business. It is now their interest to drive out the free people of colour, it would then be their interest to retain them, in order to keep down the price of labour ; and as the products of the south are more valuable than those of the north, they will be able to give better wages ; and this, together with the love of kindred, will not only retain the coloured people now there, but will induce many to leave the present free states and go to the south. Such will be the certain result of the immediate and entire abolition of slavery ; and they would soon be educated, and become an enlightened people, and a benefit to society, whether they might reside, in the north or south. This would be greatly to the interest of the free states ; the coloured people would cease to come to the free states, and if they should come it would be in an educated state, of course no disadvantage to society.



3d. The abolition of slavery would soon give to the south as dense a population as the north. This would vastly increase the trade of the free states, of course extend all kinds of business, and thus promote the interests of all classes of society. The day-labourer will find his wages increased, the farmer will get a better price for his produce, the mechanic will get more profitable and prompt returns for his labour, and the merchant will be enabled to do a surer and a more extensive business; men of the learned professions will, of course, find a better support. These will be the certain results of the immediate abolition of the slave system, and they will be greatly to the interest of the free states. The notion that many labouring men entertain, that the abolition of slavery will lower the price of labour, and thus render them unable to support their families, is entirely without foundation. By extending agriculture, manufactures, and public improvements, it will greatly increase the demand for labour, and will make room for employing thousands of mechanics and day-labourers; the compelling of two millions and a half of people to work without wages, must ever be against the labouring classes; and besides this, slavery attaches disgrace to labour, and thus tends to distress and degrade the labouring part of the community. Who does not see that by many, labouring people are despised; the fact that a man is a farmer, a mechanic, or a day-labourer, is sufficient to exclude him from some circles of society. This is the spirit of slavery transplanted into the free states; the abolition of slavery will tend to abolish this detestable spirit of pride, and will elevate the labouring classes of society. There should be no degraded classes. The honest and industrious, however poor, should always be highly esteemed.

The labouring classes, above all others, will find it their interest to promote the abolition of slavery.

It is said by some, that if the slaves were set free, they would work for lower wages than white men do, and that they would bring down the price of labour; but such should remember that they now work for nothing, and surely that is much more, than even low wages, calculated to lower the price of labour. When the abolition of slavery takes place, the coloured people themselves will consume much more provision and clothing than they now do, and this itself will increase the business of the north, and enable farmers and manufacturers to give better wages. This forms a good argument on the ground of interest, against the coloured people from the country. The south could not, at present, be cultivated without them; and they themselves, by their own consumption, will greatly increase the business and wealth of the present free states. Let the labouring classes examine well this point of interest, and they will here, as in every other case, find true interest and justice combined. It will be greatly to our interest to do justice to the coloured people.

4th. The system of slavery will soon exhaust the wealth of the free states. The increase of the slaves, will soon make it necessary to station soldiers in almost every neighbourhood throughout the slave states, to keep down insurrection. An editor in Pennsylvania has already begun to advocate the increase of the United States soldiers in South Carolina for this purpose. The time is just at hand, when the free states must not only bear their part of the expense of supporting such military forces; but they must send their sons to stand guard over slaves. If they cannot be enlisted, they must be drafted. The general government is bound by the constitution, to protect every state against domestic insurrection. The British government, previous to the act of emancipation, had to keep standing forces in the West Indies, to prevent the insurrection of slaves. Such must soon be our condition. Keeping up such military forces will soon exhaust the wealth, oppress the sons of the free states, and corrupt their morals, and endanger their liberties; such will ultimately be the result of the slave system. Certainly then, the abolition of slavery will be greatly to the interest of the free states.

5th. The system of slavery weakens the nation, and endangers its liberties.

In time of war, the slave states will not be able to do much more than guard their slaves. Consequently, the burden of defending the country must devolve upon the free states; in addition to this, the slaves will be under the strongest temptation to join the enemy. Should a powerful nation, such as the British or French, invade us, they might offer the slaves both liberty and the property of the country, as inducements to join them. And in this way they might organize, in our own country, an army of four hundred thousand men, inured to hardships, and able to endure the fatigues of warfare—and they could support them on the spoils

taken ; and thus they might overrun, and ruin the nation. Slavery puts the wealth, the lives and the liberties of the free, as well as the slave states, in the power of foreign nations. The abolition of slavery would, in this respect, promote the highest interests of the free, as well as of the slave states. If the slaves were liberated, they would acquire families and property that they could call their own. They would be protected by equitable laws, and therefore would feel it their interest to defend the country. And hence the south would become equal to the north, in the means of self-defence. This would be greatly to the interest of the states.

Add to these, the domineering spirit of slavery, that threatens the nation with a cruel despotism, would be driven from the land ; and civil and religious liberty would be extended to bless all nations, and would descend to the latest generations.

*Here then is a plan, safe and constitutional, by which all the anti-slavery societies in the Union can be forever abolished, and greatly to the interest of both the slave and free states. To this plan, there can be no just objection ; even abolitionists themselves, could not well oppose such a plan for abolishing their societies. Let all, then, who desire the abolition of anti-slavery societies, join in this plan, and success will be certain. Peace and liberty will return to bless our distracted nation ; and her morality, happiness, and her fame shall increase a thousand fold. But if slavery be not abolished, it will increase the coloured people and destroy the white people, until it will ruin the nation. The coloured population is now but one-sixth part of the nation, and now liberated, will never become a greater proportion ; and consequently, will never be able to do material injury. There will always be ample power in the nation to govern them. But if slavery be continued, it will give them such a proportion, as must sooner or later terminate in ruin. According to their present ratio of increase, they will be thirteen millions before the present century will terminate. To hold such a body of people in slavery will be impossible ; they will certainly, if not liberated, one day exterminate the free population of the slave states, and perhaps ruin the free states. Now there is less danger in liberating them, than ever will be again. Now, there is power in the south to liberate them safely, and to the best interests of the nation. Let all, then, consult the general good, and unite cheerfully in this work of justice and mercy.*





W. L. Garrison































